:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

and talo are scarce. At the present time, the island water supply from concrete cisterns is rationed out to the families of the island from July until the first heavy rains.

The seasonal changes, though important for living conditions, have not involved any great seasonal rhythm of labor. Whereas house repairing for the western village is in October and November, that for the eastern village is in April and May, when the steady winds blow from the south and east. There is a tendency to reserve activities centered round the building of new houses and canoes for the cooler midyear months, and at the beginning of this period there is a spurt of building in all villages. Other activities go on throughout the year. Twice each year, depending on the maturity of the plants, all the talo beds on Wale and Motu Ko are fertilized. With the arrival of May and the beginning of the best deep-sea fishing, there is a general repairing of the fishing gear, including canoes, paddles, hooks, fishline, and anchor line. Today there is seasonal activity in copra making, the people from each village going to their respective reserves from March to April, and a second time from August to September.

Water

Water for domestic use was formerly obtained exclusively from seep holes and wells sunk close to the beach above high tide level. This slightly brackish water is still used for bathing and other purposes by all three villages when they visit their reserves and, owing to the distant location of a better supply, by most Yato villagers all the time. Today three concrete cisterns on Wale store water draining from the church and courthouse roofs. This water is used for drinking and washing in the rainy season, in the dry season for drinking only.

Plant Life

The soil of the whole atoll is poor, mostly infertile sand and coral gravel, and in consequence vegetation is sparse. Tropical bush grows luxuriantly in a few sections. Of the food plants, coconuts grow well, but talo and bananas grow only in excavated pits that have been filled with plant material and must be fertilized with leaves and ferns twice each year. As an aid to growth of bananas, old pieces of iron are buried among the roots. A few papaya and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. The kava plant (*Piper methysticum*) does not grow on the atoll. Specimens of all plants growing in Pukapuka, as identified by Marie C. Neal, E. H. Bryan, Jr., and F. Raymond Fosberg, are recorded in the following list:

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

the two reserves on Wale, Niua belonging to Yato and Uta belonging to Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.

The wall (*pa*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Uta (the fourth boundary being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off tapu land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pa i te utu*) near the present residency, the second (*te pa i Matala*) at the site of the present watch house at Matala, the third (*te pa i te tuhunga vasa*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Niua ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te louri alo ki tai*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te louri tua ki tua*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolism that informants could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *louri* (a strong ferocious fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *louri* by the outer beach."

The stone from both walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus enforced by supernormal powers of village gods and by a guard of men called *pule*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating talo beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 312).

Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organized guard which watches the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale, does not have an organised guard system. Individual villagers, often older men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Waletos, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their canoes elsewhere.

In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 50 men able to serve as guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month. Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 562 thought that the men's guard was consuming privately from the reserve more food than it was preserving, the old men of Loto arranged that the men should serve for six months only, and that adult women should serve as guards for six months of the year. The rationalization was that the women would not be so expert at climbing nut trees as the men, and that they could devote spare time to talo cultivation. Hence in Loto today, the men's guard serves from January through June, each man acting for three months each year; the women's guard, two groups of 30 women each, serves from July through December, each woman also acting for three months each year. The Yato guard consists of men only, about 25 men for each guard. With 50 men in Yato village, each man serves for six months each year, usually in alternate months.

625 561 226 Six watch houses (*wale palenga*) are scattered through the reserve of Uta. The guard is divided into six groups (*taka*); a group of four men or women watches from each house for one month, then moves in rotation to the next house, shifting houses thus each month. The single watch house in Niua at the head of the fish pond, the site of the former lagoon gate to the reserve, is used by the Yato guard as its headquarters.

There is a tendency in Loto to group the members of each guard according to age grades. Thus one guard will comprise the oldest men, the following one middle-aged men, and so on.

Much friendly rivalry exists between successive companies of guards. In Yato, at the end of every month, the guard fishes in the pond for the benefit of the entire village and much is made of the fact if one company catches more mullet than the preceding company.

625 241 262 The monthly guard change (*te ninga pule*) is accompanied by a division of food from the reserves among the people of the village.

In Loto a division of drinking and mature nuts is made. In Yato nuts and, in season, papaya and limes procured from Motu Kotawa by guards who make a special trip to obtain the fruit are divided. The guards under the supervision of older men gather the nuts from Niua and Uta. The change of guard in Niua on January 9, 1935, was marked by the following typical food division: each man, woman, and child on the village rolls received two drinking nuts; the 48 women of Yato received papaya at the rate of one for every three women; 79 children received papaya at the rate of one for every four children. At other times, the divisions included men and not women, or men and women and not children. The conclusion of the month's guarding is accompanied also by a small division among the guard of fish caught by delegated members of the group and of talo foods prepared by their wives and relatives.

625 245 244 The duties of the guard are to patrol the reserve throughout the day and keep away thieves; to preserve the nuts, pandanus trees, and other flora of the reserve from depredations; to keep wandering pigs and chickens from destroying the talo beds. They put tapus (*lousi*) on young nut trees by tying coconut midribs round the boles of the trees. Formerly the breaking of such a tapu was punished by the gods of the reserve; today a thief 644

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 is known by the way in which the *lani* is disturbed. In Loto the men sit in
517 the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge
694 in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats,
203 cook talo meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*vananga*). In a loud voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or [683] firewood, until such visits are authorized by the village. When the report is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a new one that they have composed and practiced during the day. This finished, the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been detected is:

Wakalongolongo mai kolua,[4] e to tau[4] lulu ki te vananga a te pule ko avatu ki a kolua ia. I a kolua, awe tuku kolua i a kolua tama ke wakatekateka wua i te motu. Ke pukea maua i loto, e vayi loa, ngalepelepe. No i ai na aumai ia te vananga ke longo kolua talinga. Wakamamalu kolua wakalelei. Ko te vananga ia na aumai ai ki a kolua. Tangi ai loa la te manu ia.

Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

685 People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the
696 guard, either in nuts or in sennit or other craft objects. The amount of the
577 fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported in its efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the reserve is immoral, few Pukapukans are above helping themselves to nuts in secret.

625 In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards
291 watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special
489 section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on Wale, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to look over the canoes surreptitiously for contraband foods. When the women of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *kotawa* fern to use as fertilizer for village talo beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

195 [4] Note the use of the dual pronoun of the first and second person plural, rather than the plural pronouns, *koutou*, *matou*. The form is used in all public pronouncements.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

poke about under the piles of fern and look into the corners of the canoes. The women are given permission to bring back a few nuts for their own households. All the nuts in the canoes are removed to the beach by the guard, counted out one by one, and (nowadays) the total written down on paper. Once when the guards doing this were two youths who had just attained adulthood (*wakatane*), it was amusing to see the way they officiously examined the canoes of two elderly men who had gone to Motu Kotawa with the women. The older men, though obviously annoyed with the inquisition, did not dare to make any comment. It is only after the canoes have been given a clearance at this beach that they are allowed to proceed to another beach, nearest to the talo beds, to unload the cargoes of fern leaves.

When a village meeting decides that the villagers shall go to the reserves Ko or Kotawa, for a period to work the talo beds or to procure nuts, the matter is announced to the village by the guard, because it is the guard that oversees this visit and makes sure that none brings from the reserves more than the agreed amount of foods. A typical announcement of this nature, made in Ngake, which has extensive talo beds on Motu Ko, is:

Wakalongolongo mai kolua ki te vananga ko avatu ki to tana lulu. Ka wo loa tana ki te motu. Ko taua mea ka aumai: E takiyaea te niu papaku, e takiyepulupulu te niu. Yau na mea a te tinin ka aumai: E takimatawelau te wawa. E takiyepulupulu te tamaliki. Ke wo taua ki te motu nei, e ya te kavea, e ya te ngongo, e ya te lakia, e ya te kaka ia, e ya te lupe, e ya te kaipea, e ya te unga, e ya te wuti, e ya te ngangie. Ko te wai mea ia e wakayatia i to taua motu. Ka nono tama i ai e witu po, womamai loa taua. Oti ai.

Listen you to the report to be given to our village. We shall go to the reserve. These are our things we shall bring back: 20 mature nuts each, 10 drinking nuts each. Next the things of the women which they will get: 100 tubers of talo each. For each child, 10 drinking nuts. When we go to the reserve, the crabs (enumerated) and the birds (enumerated), bananas, and *ngangie* wood will be tapu. Those are the things to be tapu in our reserve. We shall stay there for seven nights, then return. That is all.

Throughout the stay on the reserve, the guard reports each night the events of the day, makes sure by inspection visits during the day that the tapu foods are not being touched, and when the time comes to return, goes from house to house, counting the nuts piled up ready for the return trip. Visits to the reserve of Ngake were formerly made on such occasions as follows:

At times fixed by the chief of Ngake and the council of men, all the men would go to Motu Ko to collect nuts and to fish. Young men wishing to go to the reserve at other times to net birds or for whatever purpose, had to procure permission previous to the visit. At one time, it was customary for parties of three or four men to be given permission to fish from the outer reefs of the reserve. Permission was granted for a three days' stay only, and if the men stayed longer than this period, they were automatically considered thieves and treated as such on their return. At other times, at a meeting of the chiefs of the island, men of the other two villages were given permission by Ngake to go to Motu Ko for a set period in order to fish from the reefs.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[421] [613] [423] [311] width, depending on the amount of village-owned land and the number of paternal lineages that share in the division. Each section runs from lagoon (*tai*) to outer beach (*tua*) missing out the talo beds and reserve lands owned by the village. Thus the sections of Ngake run straight through from *tai* to *tua*; those of Loto run to Uta, then stop and pick up the line again on the northern side of the reserve whence they extend to the outer beach. [764] The cemeteries of each paternal lineage and of each sub-lineage are situated on the section of the lineage. Through patrilocal residence, all male members of the paternal lineage reside on another part of the same section of land. The *kawa* are named for the paternal lineages.

Besides the two sections running from *tai* to *tua*, the paternal lineages of Loto also own smaller sections in Uta. Four land divisions on the western side of Uta are controlled by the sub-lineages of the *po* i Tua. The names of these divisions (*na kawa i te tawa lalo*) are: Te Pa, Taikaiana, Te Welo-i-te-kilikili, Te Auma. Four divisions (*na kawa i te tawa ngake*) on the eastern side of the reserve are divided among the sub-lineages of Yangalipule *po*. Their names are: Te Utu, Wala-kakala, Te Welo, Te Puapua.

[361] The lineage sections of Yato run from *tai* to *tua* on the strip of land east of the causeway, the only site of Yato in former times. Ngake informants recognize none other than these; Yato informants, feeling that the transfer of part of the village to the site west of the causeway and the opening up for residence of what was formerly tapu land enable them to speak legitimately of further sections in this western extension of Yato, state that by fiction if not by tradition, the three Yato lineages have second strips running from lagoon to Niua in the western section of the village.

421 613 241 428 The coconut trees, talo beds, and bush timbers on all sections are of two kinds: first, those owned by the people of the lineage in common and shared among all members; second, those individually owned by male and female members of the lineage who alone are allowed to plant or to own trees on the section. Coconut trees of the first type descend in the lineage corporation and are not alienable. Trees of the second type are inheritable among individual members of the lineage, but are not alienable outside of it.

423 613 692 Each section (*kawa*) is further subdivided into homestead lots named *sikuanga*. These lots are the subdivisions of the sections on which, in general, male members of the paternal lineage live with their families. Through marriage, adoption, choice, or inheritance of a house, people of different lineages come to live together on the same homestead lot, but the tendency is for all living on the same lot to be related by some kinship tie, close or remote. Only people belonging directly to the lineage that owns the sections on which the lot is located may plant or privately own trees or talo beds or be said to own house sites on the lots.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

476 Typical activities which involve complex combination of labor are bonito
226 and flying-fish fishing, seine fishing, house building and thatching, canoe making, talo bed excavating, and today copra making. Bonito and flying fish may be fished by a small group of friends in one or two canoes, or else may involve village cooperation. Some men in each canoe are paddlers, others the netters or rod wielders. Women relatives provide the food for the crew. Seine fishing is carried out by groups of men, usually by a village group. When the net is used on the reef controlled by another village, however, men from this village also participate and share in the fish division. House building involves complex household or village cooperation, depending on the building constructed, whether for use as a private cook or sleep house or for a village meeting house or reserve land guard house (p. 76).

476 Canoe making is the work of an expert canoe builder and a number of
437 assistants whom he directs. The group for whom the canoe is being built
241 provides the food for the workers and makes the gifts that recompense the
208 workers at the conclusion. Talo beds are excavated by men and women, the men doing the heavy digging, the women carrying away the sand and coral. Copra making is a village undertaking, involving both men and women. During the stay on the reserves, men and women collect and husk the nuts; older people and women split the nuts; men and women put them on the drying platforms; and children and old people later remove the copra from the shells. The men transport the copra to the villages and store it in village-constructed storage houses to await shipment.

476 Work is initiated by those who experience needs and require assistance to
621 fulfill them. The needs may be biological, such as the need for food or
625 shelter, or else social or ritual, as in the preparation for feasts, the building of village or religious houses, and village competitions. Village work is initiated by the informal village council, by inter-village discussions, or by household heads who anticipate the occurrence of large feasts. Specific works which involve the welfare of the village as a whole, such as copra making, the care of village talo beds, or preparations for village contests, are controlled by the guards (*pule*) acting as executive agents for the village. The work is so organized that all have specific tasks allotted to them. The guard sees that the work is carried out and is up to the required standard of efficiency. In work on the village copra storehouse for example, the guard arranges for some men to fish for the village workers and for the women to prepare talo to feed the workers; the older men so arrange the work that those best skilled for certain tasks are given the direction of these tasks and are adequately helped by less-skilled workers.

476 The native Pukapukan pattern functioned in typical fashion when the
621 people made the collection of material culture objects presented to Bernice
609 P. Bishop Museum:

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Canoes are bailed dry and excess moisture is wiped out with wringers of coconut fiber. They are covered with old coconut-leaf mats (*pola*), unplaited dry coconut leaves, and pieces of pandanus matting. This canoe covering is termed *kaukau lama* or *tapola*. Coconut-leaf butts and lengths of timber are leaned against the covering to prevent its blowing away in the wind.

Formerly canoes were never anchored with a cable to prevent them from drifting. A stick, called *iki tawia*, was driven into the sand of the resting place of the canoe just forward of the stern cross boom on the port side of the canoe between the hull and the longitudinal spar. This served to anchor the canoe securely because the top end of the stick projected well above the cross boom.

Cultivation and Harvesting

The vegetable foods of the Pukapukans are limited to coconuts, talo, *pulaka*, bananas, and pandanus. Today a few papayas and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. Coconuts and talo were and are the staple vegetable foods; the coconut is immeasurably the more important. All parts of the coconut tree were used for food as well as clothing and sennit; its value led the people to study every phase in growth of fruit and tree. Any Pukapukan can distinguish stages in the growth of the nut by a glance at a tree, however high; and he will climb only that tree which has on it the particular fruit for his purpose.

Coconut

The origin of the coconut is told in the following Pukapukan version of a widespread Polynesian myth.

Mauieuli and Mauiepopo were a Pukapukan man and wife. Mauiepopo conceived a child by her husband and, as is the habit of women at this time and in this condition, she longed for special and strange foods to eat. She had tasted everything that her husband could bring her, but still she longed for other foods. Her husband fished and fished and brought her home his catch, but she refused to eat it, saying, "This fish smells rotten to me. Take it away. I do not like it. Go fishing again and bring me some other fish." So he went fishing again, and this time brought home some sweet fish, fat and delicious. But again his wife refused to eat, saying, "This fish is too sickly sweet. I don't like it." This went on for many days, the husband procuring all kinds of new fish, the wife refusing them all, until he was worn out with his toil, while his wife pined away for food. At last he said to her, "Tell me what kind of fish it is that you long for, and then I will try to bring it to you." She replied, "There is one fish only that I desire and that is a piece of the *tuna* eel."

The man got his bait and hooks and went to the hole of the *tuna*. He baited his hook and threw it into the hole, but the *tuna* would not bite. He tried many kinds of bait fish in turn but with no luck. At last in despair he tried a bait of flowers and leaves, but still the *tuna* would not bite his hook. In the end, when he was about to give up altogether, he thought of his wife sitting at home waiting for him and decided to make one more try. For this last effort he baited his hook with the strong-perfumed

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

[226] to this god to send fish close to the surface so that they might be more easily noosed.

776

Te Maungatu, another god of Yamaunga, seems to have had no special powers other than those relating to the general protection of his worshipers.

613

313

241

Te Mangamanga, god of Yalongo lineage of Yato, added to his general duties special duties which included the protection of the reserve of Niua, its nuts, talo and timber, and also the control of all the *ngangie* wood growing anywhere on the atoll. If anyone wished timber from Niua for a canoe, or *ngangie* for implements, he went first to the priest of Te Mangamanga, who consulted the god; if the god was willing, the priest cut down the tree or the piece of *ngangie* and gave it to the person who had requested it. For an unauthorized person to cut timber, or to steal from the reserve, constituted a theft from Te Mangamanga, and the god was quick to punish with sickness. Whales that drifted ashore also came within the special province of Te Mangamanga; it was his priest who directed the cutting up of the whale [262] and its division among the people. No child might eat whale flesh on pain of being made sick by this god. Te Mangamanga was sometimes called *atua pouli* (god of darkness) because he was supposed to inflict his punishment under cover of darkness.

Te Tawitonga, another god of Yalongo, hissed and frightened thieves stealing talo from the beds of Niua, or from those controlled by his worshipers.

Departmental Gods

776

Matalolau and Matalomea resided in the mud of the talo beds. Neither religious structure nor priest was associated with them. Every time talo was taken from the beds these two gods were remembered with a gift of three or four tubers left for them in the ground.

776

821

Kanitika was originally a god who controlled the sun. Because he did not order its heat to the liking of either gods or people of Pukapuka, the four gods Te Awuawu, Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Alangaoa removed Kanitika from the sun with a pair of coconut fire tongs and threw him to the earth where he landed in a flash of lightning. Some informants thought Kanitika went back to the sun in a chastened spirit, since which time the days in Pukapuka have been much cooler; others believe he changed himself into an earthly god, renaming himself Te Atua Pule.

[621] Te Alongaoa, besides being a god of Matanga lineage with ordinary duties, joined with Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Awuawu to make a quartet of free-lance gods who at times had the attributes of culture heroes, at other times those of departmental gods controlling winds and seas. These four were greatly given to bickering and contesting among themselves. They were specifically concerned with the control of the winds. Te Alongaoa was god

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

lineages. It is likely, I think, that people of Ngake inter-marrying into Yato transferred their affection for Te Maungatu to Yato villagers, and that this god gradually assumed a position of major importance for Yato lineages. Te Alongaoa, another Ngake god worshiped by men of Yato, may have been transferred to a village not his home village by the same method.

A second important duty of the attendant gods was to form a permanent guard for the reserve lands. Whereas the major gods came to the reserves only when trouble arose, the attendants were on perpetual sentry duty and handled all smaller infractions of tapus on their own responsibility. The names of the groups of attendants for the various reserves are:

Reserve	Attendants
Te Lau-loloa-o-Mataliki (Uta).	Te Malanga Atua Ya.
Te Nuku-loa-o-Mataliki (Motu Ko).	Te Maungatu.
Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki (Motu Kotawa).	Na Tualiki.
Te Niua-ya-o-Mataliki (Niua).	Na Wuatini.

The relation of the attendants to the reserves is evidenced by the example of Te Malanga Atua. These spirits lived in Uta all the time. Whenever anyone went to the reserve for illicit purposes, the attendants warned the intruder before he committed his illegal act; then if he persisted, they plagued him with threats. On certain regular nights of the moon, the Malanga Atua gathered together (*wakamalanga*) and visited in turn all the cemeteries in Wale, singing and dancing together at each cemetery. Sometimes they also visited humans in dreams. Through these visits and the noise of their ghostly merrymaking, humans knew that they were on watch.

Tapuaki was the name of one individual attendant god, who was the servant of Taua and who punished violations of the tapus of Uta with incurable debility. Under another guise Tapuaki was a mischievous spirit who promoted illicit sexual relations. Of a man well known for his sexual adventures, the people say, "E tangata la no Tapuaki" (He is a man of Tapuaki). Tapuaki caused jealousy in women over extra-marital relations of their husbands. He also caused nightmares by coming to a man or woman in sleep, twisting him up in the typical nightmare of constriction. In another phase of this spirit's duties, a man who wished to win at a spear-throwing contest threw a flower to the god at the place where he was traditionally supposed to live, close by the cemetery of i Tua. It was thought that Tapuaki made the opponent lose his aim by causing jealous thoughts in his mind at a critical moment.

The *tikitiki* attendants of the major gods seem to have been small animals such as birds. Thus in the story of the woman-seducing contest between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, Te Awuawu won because of the power of his *tikitiki*, a small bird. After the contest was over he loaned the *tikitiki* to Ngaliyeyeu to enable him to seduce Mulitauyakana, a difficult woman of surpassing

000 The islands are surrounded by a continuous reef. Entrance to the land-locked lagoon is through a pass in the western reef wide enough for canoes but not for larger craft. All goods must be trans-shipped and carried ashore in small boats.

The climate of Pukapuka is said to be remarkably equable and the rainfall usually sufficient. During the winter, April to September, the days become exceedingly hot and breathless when the wind drops, and the vegetation often becomes dry and even scorched. It is a season of suddenly changing and heavy winds which descend with little warning, and may destroy all the coconut trees. In 1914 a great tidal wave washed over most of the atoll.

Each of the islets has seep holes or wells of brackish water which the natives can drink, and formerly water was caught from the frequent sea showers which pass over the island; but neither of these sources insured an unfailing supply. Today water caught from the roofs of the church and meeting house is stored in reservoirs.

The flora includes several useful plants. Fair-sized *puka* trees (*Hernandia ovigera*) grow on Motu Kotava, but elsewhere the trees are small. *Akanava* (*Cordia subcordata*), a hard wood very resistant to water, grows on each islet. Canoes are made chiefly from sections of the trunks of these trees. *Puapua* (*Guetarda speciosa*) and *wetau* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*) are plentiful and are used in canoes when *akanava* is not available. *Puka* is used for outriggers and for easily worked implements and utensils. Coconut trees are plentiful. *Wau* (hau; *Hibiscus tiliaceus*) supplies a bast which is made into very strong fish line and cordage for fish nets. The wood is used in house construction and for fire plows. *Wetau* wood is used in making containers. *Ngangie* (*Pemphis acidula*), a bush which supplies strong, branched pieces of wood, grows on the atoll and is made into *Ruvettus* hooks. The *tsiale* (*Gardenia tahitiensis*) is a tree with deliciously fragrant flowers which are woven into head wreaths and used for decorating the body. At least two varieties of hala (*Pandanus*) grow on the atoll. The most common variety (*'ala*) is used in mat-making, and its fruit is an important food. The second variety (*kie*) is made into finer and softer mats and, formerly, into the men's garment (*malo*). Bryan (1) reports that no bread-fruit trees grow on the island.

The vegetable staples in the native diet are coconut and taro. Coconuts are abundant; in profitable seasons as much as 100 tons of copra are exported.

of copra are exported. Nine varieties of taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) grow on the island; *talo Borabora, talo maoraora, talo koli, talo uakene, talo nenengu, talo kula, talo pongi, talo taraki, talo 'enga'enga.* *Puraka* (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*), a coarse tuber of the taro family with enormous heart-shaped leaves, is grown in the wet pits. This plant is said to have been introduced from the Cook Islands. Bananas (*wuti*), papayas, limes, and sugar cane grow on the island, but because of the poor soil the production is slight and contributes very little to the food supply. Hutchin (6, p. 173) states that sweet potatoes (*kumala*) and arrowroot were formerly grown.

Fish forms the chief flesh diet. Turtles are caught during the mating season when they are off the reefs and the females come ashore to lay their eggs in the sand. Pigs and chickens are kept on the island but are eaten only on occasions of celebrating some event.

Although Pukapuka was sighted by a European ship as early as 1765, it has enjoyed an existence remarkably free from intercourse with Europeans because of its isolation and its lack of natural resources. Captain Byron discovered the island on June 21, 1765, and named it "Danger Island" because of its treacherous submerged reefs and rapid currents. Lovett (8, p. 372) states that a native missionary teacher was on the island in 1857 and had proselytized most of the natives before the arrival of Reverend W. W. Gill, the first European missionary, in 1862. During the decade 1860-70 Peruvian slavers raided the island for laborers to carry to South America. In two visits they took 150 men and women, none of whom ever returned to their home (11).

The island was formally annexed by Great Britain in 1892. In 1901, by an Imperial Order in Council, Great Britain extended the boundaries of New Zealand to include the Cook Islands, Tongareva, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Palmerston, Pukapuka, and Niue. Pukapuka is now governed by the Cook Islands Administration. At present Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, directs the government, and with Mrs. Henry conducts the island school and cares for the health and sanitation. Most of the population belongs to the London Missionary Society Protestant church, which is under the direction of a native pastor. In 1919 Mr. Wicks, of the Seventh Day Adventist sect, arrived at the island and directed the building of a church during his temporary residence. A small group still retain their membership in this church. No European missionaries live on the island today.

In order to prevent theft or any unfair proportioning of the taro and coconut crops, a rigid tapu excludes everyone from entering a *motu* without permission from the village council. Loto erected a watchman's house on the embankment of the main part of the communal taro pit and walls of coral slabs (pl. 3) to insure the protection of its taro supply behind the village.

When it is time to gather food the entire population moves away from the village. During the harvesting period each section lives on its own *motu,* where it has a small settlement of houses. Harvesting that includes the cutting and drying of coconuts for copra requires a longer period of residence at the *motu* settlements than the ancient harvesting periods and it is necessary for the women and children to accompany the men and settle away from the village for several weeks. Formerly the women and children were forbidden to go into the *motu* and the men did all the harvesting as the need for food arose. Today while the main population is away a few old people and children remain in each village section to guard the houses and property left behind. None of the others are allowed to return to the village during the harvesting period. Our visit to Pukapuka during the harvesting period brought the people back to the village, for a ship is an unusual circumstance. Yet each night they returned to their own plantation quarters.

Motu Kotava Islet has one plantation village, Aonga, which consists of a cluster of small huts in the middle of its north shore. A path running southward from the village divides the island. The land at the eastern point of the islet is Puipui; the middle division is Oloavalu, and the western division, Kokoakanava. The western point extending out to the southern reef is Te Auma. Uluniu and Alitaiva are two pieces of land along the southern beach.

Motu Koe Islet has its plantation village, Te A or Te Aa, in the heart of the bay on the lagoon shore. The houses are in two groups. At one time there were settlements of the immigrant Eaki people located at each end of the islet. These people dug the large taro pits which are used by the present Pukapukans. Smaller pits have been dug by the present people also. This islet has several ancient, pre-Christian graves, where Pukapuka chiefs, killed in fights against the Motu Koe people, were buried.

526 461 Informants have been unable to come to the school to talk two afternoons a week on account of the cricket. This for two weeks before Christmas. Other sport practise has been running and teka throwing in preparation for the sport program in 527 the new year. On the days before Christmas, they have been 744 busy getting food for the women's tutaka, and, along with the 241 women, cleaning up village grounds and houses in preparation for the visit of Metua Henry's health committee of women. This visit duly occurred on the Wednesday before Christmas. In the week before Christmas, the people of Ngake lifted the la'ui on Ko and all went across to Ko for three days to collect nuts and talo, and to fertilize the beds with lau kotawa and to do more excavating of new beds. Loto also went to its motu on Wale to collect nuts, and Yato sent 30 lopas across to Kotawa on one day to bring back nuts.

Man's cricket continues today, December 28th. Tomorrow fishing to replenish supplies badly run short in the recent four days' holiday. New Year next Tuesday, embracing women's cricket and a three or more days' sport program.

527 New Year Activities.

526 Xmas activities closed on Saturday, December 29th. Monday was devoted to preparing food for New Year. New Year games started on Tuesday, January 1st. On this day was church, then all the people stayed in the churchyard, people from each village grouped under its own shelter. First there was imine, in which singers from each village sat on the grass in the sun and sang for an hour each. Then tug-of-war between teams from each village, including women's tug-of-war. Finally running races, in which runners from each village visited in turn each other village. Wednesday, January 2nd: Wrestling was held in the churchyard throughout each day, the people grouped under their shelters as before. Thursday and Friday, January 3rd and 4th, were devoted to women's cricket, in which two teams from each village visited in turn and played against teams from the other two villages. The team is waka and the visit is tele, e.g., wakatele, the canoe sails. Saturday was devoted to food, fishing for the men's tutaka on Sunday. Monday and Tuesday, January 7th and 8th, devoted to tekateka, velovelo, and coconut husking and climbing. Thus the sports program of 527 Christmas and New Year lasted two weeks. It was all under 794 the auspices of and supervised by, the deacons of the London 798 Missionary Church. Each day started and finished with prayer by one of the church deacons present, and of course all the

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
[illegible]2 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

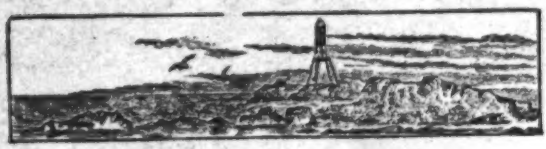
581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obediance was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayei were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.

11: Hutchin M-2 (1904) 1904 Pukapukans

173



TRADITIONS AND SOME WORDS
OF THE LANGUAGE OF DANGER OR PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

By the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchin.

IN the month of May, 1904, accompanied by Lieut-Col. Gudgeon, C.M.G., I paid a visit to Danger Island, recently annexed to the Colony of New Zealand. It is a solitary atoll more than seven hundred miles to the north-west of Rarotonga, with a population of nearly five hundred people. Only one vessel has visited the Island since the visit of the s.s. "John Williams" in October, 1900. Owing perhaps to their want of communication with the outside world the majority of the people seem somewhat duller in intellect than the other Northern Islanders. One of the most intelligent of the natives is a man named Ura, and during our short stay there I gleaned the following information from him.

"Bukabuka was a rock in the ocean. A god named Tamaye watched the rock, and thought it to be of no use whatever. The rock, however, burst asunder, and a man appeared. He looked about him, and there was hardly standing room. He accordingly made the land of Bukabuka, and he was the ancestor of the people. His name was Uyo. His wife came from Tonga, and her name was Te Vao-pupu. Their son was named Tu-muri-vaka, and their daughter was named Te Mata-kiate.

In very ancient times two warriors came from Tonga, one was named Tokai-pore, and the other Taupe-roa, and they settled the people in three districts, one was called Avarua or Kotiporo, another Te Awea (*v* pronounced like *w*) or Pana-uri, and the third Taka-numi or Ure-kava. In those days the *kumara*, the sugar cane, and arrowroot grew on this Island. (The *kumara* plant flourishes now but has no tubers; the sugar cane grows when planted in the *taro* patches, but there is no arrowroot there at the present time).

They went to many lands in ancient times. Their warriors went to the east and west, but not to the north or south. The people went from Bukabuka (its ancient name was Nukuroa) to Samoa, to Niué,